

and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act and the International Education Act.

Mr. Cater left the Johnson administration in October 1968 to work as a domestic adviser on the unsuccessful presidential campaign of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

Later, he did writing and consulting and in 1970 became a founding fellow of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. He was a principal planner in designing the Institute's Center for Governance at Wye Plantation on the Eastern Shore.

In the late 1970s, he became vice chairman of the Observer, England's oldest weekly newspaper.

He took the job as president of Washington College in 1982, he said, "because I wanted to do something to make my own mark. In the White House, one could feel many heady things, but you were just part of a process. It didn't really matter if it was you or someone else. Although I was a high level staff man, I had never been in a job where the buck stopped with me."

During his years at the college, Mr. Cater raised more than \$43 million to revitalize the academic program and add major new facilities. He also became a national champion of independent liberal arts colleges, waging a running verbal battle on the op ed pages of *The Post* and the *New York Times* with then-Education Secretary William J. Bennett, who had accused private colleges of being too greedy.

Mr. Cater's books also included "Ethics in a Business Society" (1953); "Politics of Health" (1972); and "TV Violence and the Child" (1975).

Survivors include his wife, Libby Anderson Cater of Montgomery; four children, S. Douglas Cater III and Libby Morrow Cater Sheer, both of San Francisco, Rebecca Sage Cater of Montgomery, and Benjamin Winston Cater of Baltimore; a brother, William B. Cater of Milburn, N.J.; and four grandchildren.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 20, 1995]

DOUGLASS CATER'S RULES OF JOURNALISM
(By Edwin M. Yoder, Jr.)

Even perceptive newspaper obituaries rarely capture the flavor of a man. The notices of Douglass Cater's death at 72 conveyed only a hint of what made him an original.

I knew of Cater, and had read a good bit of his writing (mainly in the old Reporter magazine), long before our paths crossed in the mid-1980s. By then, he was assailed by excruciating physical debilities, including chronic back pain that he managed by a curious regimen of flexing exercises, rhythmically twisting his torso in a way vaguely suggestive of an exotic dance. But far from complaining, he observed his frailties as a journalist and wrote about them—interestingly.

Meeting him one could see how he had by then accumulated a larger stock of interesting firsthand institutional memory than just about anyone you ever met, beginning with World War II service in the legendary Office of Strategic Services. That was just the beginning. When communists took control of the world student movement, he and others organized the U.S. National Student Association. Later, he was a Washington magazine correspondent and editor, a White House aide to Lyndon Johnson, the editor of a venerable English newspaper (the Observer of London, which with the help of Robert Anderson's philanthropy, he rescued from the brink of oblivion), a writer, philosopher of higher education, godfather to public broadcasting and president of an old liberal arts college on Maryland's eastern shore (Washington, in Chestertown), which he also helped rescue and was visiting when he died.

Cater's old friends knew him as a man of dramatic loyalties, reinforced by a sharp tongue.

After we had seen Cater take someone's hide off at a forum one summer night, an old friend told me a story. It happened when Cater was working for Lyndon Johnson in the White House, at the height of the national quarrel over Vietnam.

His friend had flown to Washington on business and planned to stay with the Caters. Cater picked him up at National Airport. As they drove south on the GW Parkway, Cater asked, in his Alabama drawl: "John, are you one of those goddam academics who're always carping at the president about the war?" His friend admitted that he was. "I'm sorry," Cater announced, "but we will have to stop speaking." Cater withdrew to this study, skipping dinner, and it was years before friendly relations were restored. He took his loyalties seriously.

Douglass Cater's monument, however, apart from many inventive good works, is a small book he wrote in the late 1950s called "The Fourth Branch of Government," one of those seminal books that say all that needs saying about a subject. Cater wrote the book when many journalists were uncomfortably reviewing the press's dubious performance in the rise and fall of the 20th century's most disruptive American demagogue, Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin.

McCarthy's dark ascendancy was in part an expression of the anxiety generated by the Cold War. Cater's analysis focused, however, on one of its proximate sustaining causes: the cult of reportorial "objectivity." By the rules of objectivity, if an official of note made a sensational charge, even one that seemed patently bizarre, the press's duty was to report it straight, put it out unspun for public consumption. If it proved to be a lie, it would presumably be answered; and the answer would be duly reported.

Cater demonstrated that this rosy theory took inadequate account of McCarthy's unscrupulousness, or of the speed with which a resounding lie tends to outrun humdrum truth. Whether as an original perception or as the articulation of a consensus, Cater's book helped kill the cult of journalistic "objectivity"; and it was good riddance. If, today, a U.S. senator asserts that the sky was blue on Labor Day, a diligent reporter will check the back weather reports. And if it was actually gray, you can bet that fact will be reported early in the story, under the convention that Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution calls "corrective journalism." And even the excesses of corrective journalism are a vast improvement over the abuses of the rules of "objectivity."

In short, it was Douglass Cater, more than anyone else, who changed the rules of American journalism, and very much for the better. And that was only one of perhaps a dozen distinctions that made him one of the best of a fine generation.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1461. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on the expenditure and need for worker adjustment assistance training funds for the period July 1 to September 30, 1995; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-1462. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of the intention of the President to provide economic support funds to El Salvador; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-1463. A communication from the Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator (Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs), U.S. Agency for International Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Turkey Economic Report for calendar year 1994; the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-301. A resolution adopted by the Council of the City of North Wildwood, New Jersey relative to the Flood Rate Map; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

POM-302. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 12

"Whereas, section 8 housing assistance is made available from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) through California local government housing agencies to assist in rental payments for persons of lower income; and

"Whereas, section 8 housing assistance has heretofore been made available to assist lower income families and individuals, including senior citizens and the disabled, in helping them pay part of manufactured home and mobilehome park space rent; and

"Whereas, HUD has proposed rule changes to the Section 8 housing assistance payments program for fiscal year 1995 for manufactured home spaces to be established at 30 percent of the applicable Section 8 Rental Certificate program two-bedroom fair market rent; and

"Whereas, the proposed HUD rule changes would establish a formula that would permit space rent in many counties to be not more than \$207 in order for lower income persons to be eligible for the Section 8 assistance; and

"Whereas, in San Diego County alone, the current average mobilehome space rent of mobilehome applicants awaiting Section 8 assistance is more than \$325; and

"Whereas, under the proposed rule changes many lower income senior citizens, families, and disabled persons living in mobilehome parks in a number of California counties will no longer qualify for assistance: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully